

INITIATIVE COMMISSION
FOR THE
INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CONGRESS



-----145, Quai de Valmy, Paris (10e), France -----

Interior Bulletin No. 1.

October, 1946.

On the proposition of the Anarchist Communist Federation of Bulgaria, the Initiative Commission for the International Anarchist Congress is commencing the publication of a bulletin which replaces the circular, and contains all the propositions which arrive to us concerning the Congress.

In that way the Federations, groups and individuals of all countries will receive more precise and detailed information on the situation of the Anarchist World movement; more easy also, to keep.

This Bulletin No. 1 therefore follows Circular No. 2 of the Initiative Commission.

ANARCHIST COMMUNIST FEDERATION OF BULGARIA

"Further to our last letter we inform you that we feel that France is the only country where it will be possible to call the International Anarchist Congress.

Our position regarding the Congress is as follows:

For each question on the agenda one of the Federations present must previously be charged with the preparation of a written report. All the reports must be received by the Initiative Commission in time to be translated into the different languages. After the Congress, all the reports and resolutions adopted will be published in a special record. Further, each Federation, Organisation or Group taking part in the Congress, must present beforehand, in writing, its point of view on these same questions, also for translation into the various languages.

After the reading of each report, all the points of view will be read, and after that will follow the discussions.

AGENDA FOR THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CONGRESS.
(PROJECT OF THE ANARCHIST COMMUNIST FEDERATION OF BULGARIA):

- 1st. The situation of the working-class and the Anarchist movement on an International scale, and the necessity for an International Anarchist Federation. Report of the Initiative Commission.
- 2nd. Report of the world delegates.
 - a) The social and historical basis of libertarian communism in the respective countries.
 - b) Outline of the history of the organised Anarchist movements in the respective countries.
 - c) The most important revolutionary manifestations of the Anarchist movement.
 - d) The present development of the Anarchist movement: structure, number of members, social influence, participation in the syndicalist and co-operative movements etc.
- 3rd. The question of Syndicalism. Report made by the Spanish Anarchist movement, and the written points of view of all the represented Federations and Organisations. (The reading of all these points of view must not last longer than 15 minutes.)

- 4th. The peasant question. Report made by the Spanish Anarchist movement, or by the Italian Anarchist Federation, and the written point of view of all the Federations and Organisations on the same question. (15 minutes).
- 5th. The co-operative problem. Report made by the Bulgarian Communist Anarchist Federation, and the written points of view of all the Federations.
- 6th. Social reconstruction and collaboration with other sections of the workers' and revolutionary movements. Report of the French Anarchist Federation and written points of view of the other Federations.
- 7th. Organisation of International Solidarity. - Report of the S.I.A. and written points of view of all the Federations and Organisations represented at Congress.
- 8th. Statutes of the International Anarchist Federation - Project of the Initiative Commission, elaborated after the projects previously submitted by the Federations and Organisations participating in Congress.
- 9th. Concrete organisational tasks of the International Anarchist Federation. - Report of the Initiative Commission prepared in accordance with the projects previously submitted by the Federations and Organisations.
- 10th. Projected budget of the International Anarchist Federation presented by the Initiative Commission. (Note of Bulgarian Communist Anarchist Federation: Our participation in the expenditure will be 100.000 levas previously paid in).
- 11th. Election of the Secretariat of the International Anarchist Federation, and designation of ~~its~~ office.
- 12th. Any other business.

To close Congress: An Anarchist International Meeting must be organised, making public the position of the International Anarchist movement concerning the present great problems of the working-class.

ITALIAN ANARCHIST FEDERATION.

PROPOSALS FOR THE AGENDA : The proposal for the Agenda of the Congress, contains, among other things, the following points:

- 1st. Anarchism throughout the World.
 - a) Information on the various movements.
 - b) Their tasks.
 - c) Their organisation.
- 2nd. The Anarchists and the Syndicates.
 - a) Situation and tactics in the various countries.
 - b) Groups of "Syndical defence."
- 3rd. War and Militarism.
- 4th. The question of religion and the Anarchists: Necessity to intensify the anti-religious struggle, particularly at the moment, when the Church has invaded the social and political domains.
- 5th. International Organisation.
- 6th. The International Anarchist Federation and the A.I.T. (IWMA)
- 7th. Any other business.

REPLY TO ~~XXXX~~ CIRCULAR NO. 1 OF THE INITIATIVE COMMISSION.

1st. Point. Agreement with the organisation of an Anarchist International Congress, with a view to constituting an Anarchist International. The libertarian organisations which do not agree with the necessity of forming this International organisation, may assist in the preliminary debates of Congress, ~~as well as~~ *as well as* hear ~~its~~ *its*. But it is understood that, when the International has been constituted, only the organisations adhering to it may continue to follow the work of Congress.

2nd. Point. If we are warned beforehand that it will be impossible to hold a World Congress at present, we must be content with calling a European Congress, and provisionally forming a Union of European Anarchists. The date of this Congress must be chosen by ~~the~~ *the* organisers of the latter, after the suggestions of the participating organisations.

SUGGESTIONS OF VERSAILLES GROUP.

The forthcoming International Anarchist Congress must ~~mark~~ mark a renewal of the Anarchist World movement, and must put an end to this scattering of our forces, and the absence of cohesion in the National and International struggle which just at the moment greatly prejudices our activity.

To constitute a serious International Anarchist movement, two conditions would appear necessary:

1st. To define the ideological principles on which it is based, to determine the aim which is to be attained, and devise the means which may be employed to bring about their fulfilment.

2nd. To organise to carry out in the best way, the task which has been outlined.

(A) Principles - Aims - Means.

Agreement must be reached on the terms which we employ; we must not confound Anarchy with licence, nor refute all discipline because it is said to be incompatible with our theories.

But it is equally necessary to reject all organisational projects not based on federalism, which could give to a group of individuals a prejudicial influence to the orientation of our movement.

Anarchism is a doctrine which aims at the complete liberation of man and that in all phases of his activity; political, economic, social, moral, intellectual. Anarchism is not only an ideal, but also a conception of the world, it is a method of life and of historical investigation.

Anarchism, like socialism, is born of the revolt of the working class against the capitalist class which keeps the workers in slavery, but every day the separation between anarchism and socialism becomes wider. The tendencies of socialism, reformist or bolshevist, national or christian, are incompatible with the aim we pursue. State socialism has become an enemy as dangerous as capitalism. We are therefore obliged to fix our position exactly with regard to these two enemy forces

Anarchism wishes the destruction of all regimes of exploitation and domination of man by man, which signifies that it at present aims at the abolition of employers and of the wage system together with the disappearance of the state. For a class society we intend to substitute a society of equals based on a federalist organisation of society.

Based on violence, the present regime can only be overthrown by the use of a superior force. All our methods of struggle must be fixed with regard to that necessary end - the Revolution. The strike and insurrection necessitate, to be utilised with the maximum chance of success, a powerful organisation, able to act on all fields, and capable of then giving to the toiling masses the necessary impulse for the construction of the free society.

And that brings us to the second point that we formulated at the beginning of this proposition.

B) Organisation.

The Anarchist International must not, and cannot, be a simple organ of relations between the anarchists of the different countries of the world. That was possible three-quarters of a century ago, but is not in our times when we are confronted with powerful imperialisms. Our international must be a responsible organism, having decisions to carry out, and doing so. It is well understood that our International cannot base itself on "democratic centralism" - whatever its form. Federalists we are and we shall remain so.

Organically the international could have at its head an Administrative Commission composed of X members of each country.. As a general rule only one organisation in each country could be affiliated to the International. These delegates, to be recalled at any time by their respective organisations, could be selected among those of another country. The Bureau of the International would be composed of X secretaries and treasurers, not reeligibile, members of the Administrative Commission.

An International Congress, composed of the delegates of the organisations belonging to the International would be held each year, and would nominate the responsible officers of the International. It would equally fix the general political position of the world Anarchist movement for the national organisations to see to their practical organisation. All the decisions of the International could only be taken by Congress, or after a referendum organised among the organisations belonging to the International. In the case of urgency the Administrative Commission of the International would be able to take the decisions necessitated by the circumstances and to then obtain their ratification by the organisations affiliated to the International.

The International would publish a periodic bulletin in three languages, Spanish, French, Italian, which would give the result of its work and would be the line of contact between the anarchists of the different countries of the world.

AGENDA FOR THE CONGRESS

1. Report of the Initiative Committee.
2. Statement of each delegation on the situation of the anarchist movement in its country.
3. Declaration of principles.
4. Lessons to be drawn from contemporary revolutions: Commune of 1871, Russia, Spain.
5. Methods and means of struggle: syndicates, cooperatives, soviets.
6. Position of the movement towards other organisations, particularly fascists and bolshevists.

7. Immediate aims

8. The Anarchist movement and imperialist war.

SEBASTIAN FAURE GROUP - Bordeaux (FAF)

1. We are in agreement with an International Congress, but it is necessary that the circular should reach all the comrades likely to be interested within the French anarchist movement, groupings like individuals.

2. For participation and representation of all the groups at the Congress, whether they belong to the National Federation or not.

3. Participation of individuals as militants and propagandists of anarchist ideas, with full rights.

4. We are partisans of a Committee of International Relations, and not of an International Federation which would automatically carry, consciously or not, the germ of centralisation which would lead us to the dictatorship if a Central Committee, and it is that we must avoid at all costs. A Committee of International Relations will be a guarantee for our movement, and will be the best reflection of our ideal.

T

ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF MEXICO

1. Our position is in favour of the two ideas. (Anarchist International Congress and International Anarchist Federation). We believe both to be imperative necessities of our movement.

2. Given the international situation, the holding of a European Congress imposes itself, which should be in some ways the preparation for the International Congress.

3. We think that as long as the European Congress has not established a normal commission to prepare the International Congress, this Initiative Commission must remain and work with a view to the holding of the European Congress, acting meanwhile, as a Commission of International Relations.

4. We think that the European Congress should be called without delay.

In view of this, and to cooperate in drawing up the agenda, we believe that the following points should be dealt with.

1. Given the moral chaos which has spread throughout the world, and the overthrow of all the props of present civilisation, can Anarchism present an immediate solution to these problems that humanity has already judged insoluble. In the affirmative case:

a. What solutions does anarchism present to the general destruction of philosophic beliefs - religious and moral.

b. What immediate solutions does Anarchism present to the general destruction of politics, taking into account the true international situation.

c. What immediate practical solutions does Anarchism present to the present situation of economy - socialism, nationalisation, trusts, cartels, etc.

d) In short, to each and all of the problems which are at present posed to humanity, what immediate solutions does anarchism present?

2: Organic integrity of anarchism

a) Its fundamental conceptions:

- i - philosophic
- ii - social
- iii - economic:

b) Its form of existence and of organisation:

- i - the best national and international forms of organisation,
- ii - economic means,
- iii - possibility of creating an international editorial; a. publication of papers in different languages.
b. publication of books, pamphlets, etc.
- iv - need and possibility of organising centres of revolutionary formation where the problems of the post-revolutionary period could be studied conscientiously, and where militants could instruct themselves in the differing aspects of social life.

c) Its relations with the other revolutionary sectors of the workers movement;

d) Its attitude towards possible revolutions:

- i - at their outbreak and during the revolutionary period
- ii - after the revolution.

e) Its attitude towards the democracies.

3: Religion

a) Study of its real present force

b) Means of ending its influence in the different countries of the world.

No matter what subjects you will judge interesting to put on the order of the day, they will be developed by us, in a report that we are disposed to send you for the European Congress.

INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTIONS (abridged).

Martin Gudell (U.S.A.)

International congress not possible under present unfavourable conditions In favour of postponement for two or three years. Need for careful prior preparation.

T. Suarez & E. Latelaro. (Argentine)

In agreement with the holding of an international congress;

opposed to formation of an international anarchist federation. Need to work within the syndicalist organisations with the aim of giving them a more libertarian content - to make the IWMA an anarchist workers international.

(this viewpoint can be taken as representative of the Regional Workers Federation of the Argentine, affiliated to the IWMA; it is a thesis peculiar to Argentine and Uruguay and is the subject of an old controversy between these comrades and the European movement.
(note by hs.) KH

Treasurer's note P stamps for the Congress: the stamps are at the disposition of groupings and organisations desiring to collaborate actively with the preparation of the Congress. The price of the stamp is 10 French francs. Orders and instructions to: Henri ORIOL, 6, Rue Hermel, PARIS 18e.

x x